THE Merciful Judgments OF *High-Church Triumphant*

On Offending

CLERGYMEN,

And Others,

In the REIGN of *CHARLES* I.

Together with

The Lord *Falkland's* Speech in Parliament 1640. relating to that Subject.

Better it were there were no Reveal'd Religion, and that Human Nature were left to the Conduct of its own Principles and Inclinations, which are much more Mild and Merciful, much more for the Peace and Happiness of Human Society; than to be acted by a Religion that inspires Men with so vile a Fury, and prompts them to commit such Outrages. Tillotson's Serm. *Vol.* 3. *p.* 19.

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The Merciful Judgments of High-Church Triumphant &c.

THE High-Church Clergy ever since one of their Brethren has been under a Parliamentary Prosecution, for his seditious Sermons, talk in a very unusual strain for Liberty of Speech, and of the injustice of punishing men for their Opinions, and cry, if they are not permitted to discharge their Consciences in the Pulpit, and to tell the People without any restraint their duty, especially in matters of the highest consequence, the great use of Preaching will be lost: for who will regard what they say, when they dare not speak their Thoughts, but must be forc'd to suit their Doctrine to the Humours, Passions, Prejudices, or Designs of Great Men? Nay, some amongst 'em don't scruple to affirm, that if the Power of preaching what they judge to be the Truth, be deriv'd to 'em from a Divine Commission, they can't see how they are accountable to the Laity for what they say or act in execution of their Commission: and that if they are subject in this respect to Powers infinitely inferiour to God, from whom alone they receive their Commission, they can have no pretence of being independent in any other point, by virtue of a Divine Commission.

After they have urg'd this, and all they can think on for an uncontrol'd Liberty of venting what they please in the Pulpit, then they cry, if they must be punish'd for discharging their Consciences there, it ought to be with all due Reverence, Regard and Tenderness to their Sacred Character, as they were treated in the Reign of that Pious Martyr *Charles* I. who at his Coronation, to shew what a regard he was resolv'd to have for their Holy Function, and how he would exalt them above the Nobility and Gentry, caus'd this Exhortation to be read to him by the Archbishop, in the presence of the Peers and

all the other great Persons who attended the Solemnity: *As you see the CLERGY come nearer to the Altar* (which was afterwards rail'd in, to exclude the Laity from approaching it too near) *than others, so remember that in all places convenient you give 'em greater Honour; that the Mediator of God and Man may establish you in the Kingly Throne, to be a Mediator between the Clergy and the Laity.* Such a blessed Reign, say they, when the Reform'd Religion did so much flourish, and the Church was maintain'd in its genuine Purity, free from all Popish and Fanatical Superstition, ought to be a Precedent to all future Ages.

Hist. of *Engl.* in fol. *vol.* 3. *p.* 13.

The talking after this rate ill becomes those, who are for manacling and shackling the Clergy with early Subscription to certain Creeds, Articles, and Canons; and are not only for depriving 'em of all their Preferments, but otherwise punishing 'em, if they presume to preach contrary to such Creeds, *&c.* tho in the most speculative Points.

The utmost for which Men of the greatest Freedom contend, and which makes 'em to be call'd Atheists by these Highfliers, is, That in such things wherein neither the Publick nor Private is injur'd, but which relate only to God and a Man's own self, Liberty of Conscience ought to be preserv'd inviolable to all Persons, and the Pulpit, as well as the Press left intirely free.

But 'tis the Papists, and such other rigid Fanaticks, who maintain that Preachers are not at all accountable to the Lay-Powers for whatever they say in the Pulpit. But certainly Sedition is as much Sedition in the Pulpit as out of it; nay, 'tis more criminal for being spoke so publickly, and from a place where 'tis like to have a greater effect; and from one whose business it is to preach all that tends to the Peace and Welfare of human Society. Whoever therefore is guilty of this Crime, most grossly abuses that Liberty the Government allows him, of talking without interruption for an hour together: and the proper Punishment for men who have so publickly vented seditious Doctrines, is for them to be as publickly expos'd, that the Pillory may expiate the Crime of the Pulpit; and the ornaments that is plac'd to this, the same Persons who heard them alone in one, have the better opportunity of viewing

hand on the other; by which means, their being blindly led into a belief of his Doctrine by too great a Reverence for his Person, may be happily prevented.

I don't see how that profound Reverence, which the Priests pretend is due to 'em, can serve to any other end, than to impose on the People, and make them swallow the most absurd Doctrines which they dogmatically dictate from the Pulpit. The Preachers indeed can't well treat the People with too much Reverence, since the Word of God not only makes 'em the Judges of their Doctrines, but obliges 'em, if they judg 'em to be *false Teachers, Seducers, Deceivers* (and certainly common Beauteseus and Incendiarys are the greatest) *to flee and shun 'em*, as they would the most poisonous and infectious Animals, or as even the Devil himself, the great Seducer and Deceiver of Mankind. And he who is to be treated thus by every body, can pretend to no Character, which may exempt him from the most infamous Punishment, if it be otherwise proper.

The chief business of a Clergyman is to set a good example to his Congregation; and if he discharges his Duty in that matter, he acts honestly in his Profession: but if he takes a contrary method, he acts like a Witness who perjures himself, or a Retailer who uses false Weights or Measures; because they are alike guilty of a Breach of Trust in their own proper Callings, and therefore ought to be alike subject to the same Punishment.

But since High-Church refers us to the Reign of a Prince, who was ambitious of the Honour of being thought the Mediator between the Clergy and Laity (tho in truth he acted more like a Party-man) we will see whether the Treatment which Clergymen as well as others met with in his Reign, when they were so unhappy as to fall under the Displeasure of High-Church, which then rid triumphant, are fit Precedents for this Reign of Gentleness and Moderation. And in doing this, I can't but let the Reader see, whether those who then govern'd the Church, were for preserving it free from Superstition, and maintaining the Reformation in its native purity.

And the first Instance I shall give of the tender regard which was had to Clergymen, shall be the Treatment of *Alexander Leighton* D. D. who for reflecting on the Prelacy, and charging the Bishops with Persecution, and

Hist. of *Engl.* *vol.* 3. *p.* 60.

calling the Queen a Daughter of Hell, with such like Expressions in a Book intitled, *Histriomastix*, was sentenc'd to a perpetual Imprisonment, to a Fine of 10000 *l.* to be degraded, to be pillory'd, and whipt, to have his Ears cut off, his Nose slit, and his Face branded; all which Sentence was most severely executed upon him.

The next Instance I shall give of High-Church Moderation, is the Pillorying of three Professors of Divinity, Law and Physick, all at once for

Rushw. Coll. Abridg. *vol.* 2. *fol.* 272. &c.

one Book; there was an Information in the Star-Chamber against the Reverend Mr. *Burton*, a Divine of the Church of *England*, and a *London* Minister; Mr. *Prynn*, a Barrister of *Lincoln-Inn*; and Dr. *Bastwick*, a Physician; for writing seditious schismatical Books against the Hierarchy of the Church, to the scandal of the Government. The Defendants tender'd their Answers themselves to the Court; but because all their Council had not sign'd 'em (which none but very bold Men would then venture to do, and Mr. *Hall* was threaten'd to have his Gown pull'd over his ears for drawing *Burton*'s Answer) the Court took the advantage of this, and without more ado order'd each of 'em to be taken

Clarendon, *vol.* 1. *fol.* p. 73. Rushw. *Ibid.*

pro confesso; and the Pillory, Lois of their Ears, their Faces and Foreheads branded with hot Irons, perpetual Imprisonment, and a Fine of 5000 *l.* each, was their Sentence; nay, Mr. *Prynn* was not only to lose the remainder of his Ears, but to be stigmatiz'd on both Cheeks with the Letter *L. S.* signifying a seditious Libeller; and the Reverend Mr. *Burton* was depriv'd of his Benefice in *London*, degraded from his Function, and Degrees in the University, where he had proceeded Batchelor of Divinity. This barbarous Sentence was most barbarously executed: for *Burton*'s and *Bastwick*'s Ears were par'd so close by the High-Church Executioner, that he cut their Arterys, and thereby caus'd a great Effusion of Blood; and he not only sear'd *Prynn*'s Cheeks with an exceeding hot Iron, but in taking away what was left of one of his Ears, par'd off a piece of his Cheek, and left a piece of his other Ear hanging on for some time, after he had barbarously hack'd it. But this inhuman Usage of Mr. *Prynn* did not satisfy Father *Laud*, but

but he moved the Court that seeing to have him gagg'd, and to take further Punishment inflicted on him, for saying, "If all the Martyrs that suffer'd in Queen *Mary*'s days, "were Schismatical Heretiths, Factious Fellows, "Traytors and Rebels, condemned by Holy Church, "what can we hope for?" Yet so they are stil'd by Dr. *Pocklington* in his Book *de Schismate Christianum*, licens'd by the Archbishop and Chaplain; for which Dr. *Pocklington* and the Archbishop's Chaplain were both afterwards censur'd by the Lords. But tho' the merciful Archbishop could not prevail on the rest of the Judges to inflict greater Punishe on Mr. *Prynn*, yet to gratify his Revenge, he caus'd several who at *Chester* and other places had shew'd Civilitys to Mr. *Prynn*, as he was carrying Prisoner to *Carnarvan* Castle, tho his Keepers were not forbid to let any visit him, to be fin'd some 500 *l.* some 300 *l.* others 250 *l.* But Mr. *Prynn* was not long at *Carnarvan* Castle (which, tho a nasty hole, was thought too good for that people) before he was returned to *North Wales* in the Island of *Jersey*; where, by an extraordinary Order under *Laud*'s hand, none but his Keepers were permitted to speak with him, and all his Letters were intercepted, and he not allow'd Pen, Ink and Paper to write for Necessarys, or to petition for Relief. And in his Petition to the House of Commons, when releas'd, he says

Rushw. abr. *vol.* 2. *p.* 295, &c.

Ibid. vol. 3. *p.* 300.

he sent to the Archbishop, to desire him to release of him his Servant, that he might attend him during his Stores; which out of his Grace and Charity he utterly refus'd, saying, He would proceed against him in the High Commission, where he has ever since been vex'd, and sent from Prison to Prison only for refusing to accuse and the Petitioner. Nor was Dr. *Bastwick* or Mr. *Burton* notwithstanding his infirm Circumstances, us'd after a more humane manner, both their Wives being forbid to set their feet on the Islands where they were Prisoners.

Having mention'd Mr. *Prynn*'s former Sufferings, 'twill not be improper to let the Reader know, that this poor Gentleman, only for writing against Stage Plays (tho his Book was in a manner transcribed out of the Fathers,

Ibid. vol. 2. *p.* 795, &c.

being full of Quotations from them, was Licens'd by Archbishop *Abbot*'s Chaplain; was Committed to the Tower, without Bail or Mainprize, for a whole Year, and deny'd Access to his Council, or Counsel, time to examine Witnesses; but still he'd good Cheer. The University of *Oxford* and *Lincoln's-Inn* deprived him from his Profession of the Law, for twice in the Pillory, where he lost both his Ears, and had his Books burnt before his face by the Hangman; and after all he was condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment.

Prynn's Book against Plays was the more provoking because the Court was extremely addicted to those ludicrous Entertainments, and the Queen fond of them, that she did not scruple to act a Part in her own Royal Person; and therefore this Treatise against Stage-Plays was suspected to be level'd at the Practices of the Court, and the Example of the Queen. And there being in the Table of the Book this Reference, *Women Actors, notorious Whores*; this was construed by an Innuendo to reflection on the Queen's Sacred Person. Either *Laud*, as he was the Instrument and Abettor of most other vile things, so he was of this Profecution: by shewing *Prynn*'s Book to the King, and pointing at the offensive parts of it; and then by employing his Chaplain Dr. *Heylin* (a fit business for such a worthy Divine) to pick out all those Passages to which he cou'd give the severest turns; and lastly, by carrying those Notes to the Attorny-General for matter of Information, and urging him earnestly to prosecute against the Author.

Hist. *Engl.* vol. 3. p. 62.

Ibid.

'This the Reverend Dean of *Peterborough* says, was look'd on by some serious Men, as a giving countenance to the Licentiousness and Profaneness of the Stage. But who can'd whether serious or not serious, expect any other from an Archbishop that appear'd so zealous for profaning the Sabbath, and ruin'd a great many Godly Ministers and their Families, because they wou'd not read the Proclamation for Sports on the Lord's Day?

But as *Laud* had no regard to Conscience himself, so he took special care that others shou'd have as little: witness the Canons fram'd by him and his Instruments for the Clergy of *Scotland*, which oblig'd the whole Clergy of

that Nation to swear to submit to, and pay all Obedience to what was enjoin'd by the Liturgy, tho they knew not what it contain'd, it not being made till a year after or thereabouts. This notable piece was politickly done by him, since he cou'd not but see, that if he once made the whole Body of that Clergy blindly swear to they knew not what they cou'd with a very ill Grace pretend Conscience for refusing to comply with any of his Innovations. And much of a piece with this was the obliging the *English* Clergy to swear, as they were bound by the Canons of 40, to a Government of Ord. Now were there no *&c.* in the case, yet an Oath that obliges Men, especially those who are concern'd in the Legislature, not to endeavour to alter the Government of the Church, must be, to say no worse, a very rash Oath, because it is design'd to hinder Men from doing their Duty, whenever they come to think this Government inconvenient or unlawful.

But to return, during *Prynn*'s Imprisonment, Dr. *Bastwick* was brought into the High Commission Court, for a Book entitled *Elenchus Papistæ*, writ in answer to a Book of one *Short* a profess'd Papist; for which he was condemn'd to a Fine of a thousand pounds, to be excommunicated, debar'd his Practice of Physick, his Book to be burnt, and he imprison'd till he made a Recantation; or, in other words, disown'd the King's Prerogative, the defending of that being the great fault of his Book. *Whitlock's Memorials, p. 21, 22.*

And what made those Gentlemen, *Prynn*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick* lowerly criminal, was their complaining of several Innovations in the Church (in defence of which, at their Censure, *Laud* made a very large Speech, which is printed in the History of his Troubles) and for not allowing Bishops to be *Jure Divino*; and for maintaining that they incroach'd on the King's Prerogative, particularly in keeping Courts, and issuing out Processes in their own Names. For this they exhibit a Cross Bill against the Bishops; upon which the Archbishop demanded the Opinion of the Judges, whether they cou'd not be punish'd *Rushw. abridg. Vol. 2. p. 275.*

nish'd as Libellers, who all but one answer'd negatively, for then it was tender in a legal way. Upon this the Starchamber prevail'd by eleven of the twelve Judges, who had declar'd for the legality of Simpony, to declare likewise for the legality of Bishops issuing out Processes, and keeping Courts in their own Names.

High-Church have in particular great reason to thank God for the freedom Men enjoy under the present Administration, for had they liv'd in those days, and took the like liberty to rail at the Bishops then as they do now, inveighing them as Enemies of their Order, Betrayers of the Rights of the Christian Church, &c. they would have undergone as severe Punishment as those three Confessors, that bore all their Sufferings, tho they had the Prospect of seeing an end of them, with incredible Courage and Resolution.

Among many that deserve honourable mention is the Reverend Mr. *Smart*, a Prebendary of *Durham*, who was kept Prisoner at *York* four months before any Articles were exhibited against him, and five more before a Proctor was allowed him. Hence he was remov'd to *Lambeth*, and after long trouble remanded to *York*, fin'd 500 *l.* committed to Prison, order'd to recant, and for refusing fin'd again, excommunicated, degraded, and depriv'd; his Damage amounting in the whole to Thousands of Pounds: and yet all the Crime this poor man was guilty of, was his presuming to preach against some Innovations that Dr. *Cosins*, a Creature of *Laud's*, had introduc'd into the Church of *Durham*, where he had set up a Marble Altar, with all the Appurtenances, namely, a Cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an Old man; another with a Crucifix, and the Image of Christ with a red Beard and blue Cap: which was every whit as scandalous as *Laud's* causing the Popish Picture of the Trinity, where God the Father was drawn like a little old Man, to be painted afresh at *Lamberth*; or his speaking in favour of that Painter, who to express God the Father, had painted on the Glass divers little old Men barefooted, and in long blue Coats, because God is call'd in Scripture *the Ancient of Days*. But I refer the Reader

See Laud's *Def.* in Pryn, *p.* 403.

Reader to *Rushworth*, where he will see that the Recorder of *Surum*, for quashing an Order of Vestry for pulling down this most scandalous Picture, was deprived of his Recordership, fined 500 *l.* and obliged to acknowledge his Offence to the Bishop of the Diocese; tho the Church, in which this Picture was, was a Lay-Fee, and exempt from all Episcopal Jurisdiction. *Rushw. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 134.*

I shall now give some account of Dr. *Cosins*'s Innovations, which were so very scandalous, that he was impeach'd in Parliament for them, and the Commons prefer'd twenty one Articles against him; some of which were, That he not only us'd many extraordinary Bowings to the Altar, but violently compel'd others to do the same, and call'd some Gentlewomen Whores, Jades and Pagans, and tore their Clothes for omitting it: That at the first *Candlemas* after his coming to that Church, he caus'd three hundred Wax-Candles to be lighted in honour of our Lady, and plac'd sixty of them upon or about the Altar (*Fuller* adds, that he forbad any Psalms to be sung before or after Sermon, but substituted in their place an Anthem in praise of the three Kings of *Colen*) That he fram'd a superstitious Ceremony at lighting the Tapers on the Altar, in causing a Company of Boys to enter the Church with burning Torches, and to bow thrice towards the Altar, and then to retreat with their Face towards it: That he beat in the Church, to the great disturbance of the Congregation, the Dean's man, for offering to put out, at his Master's Command, some of the many unnecessary Lights he had set up in the Church: That in a Sermon he said, that our Reformers, when they abolish'd the Mass, took away all good Order; and instead of Reformation, made a Deformation: That he said, that the King had no more power over the Church, than the Boy that rub'd his Horses Heels; and not only call'd one of the Canons Rogue, Rascal, *&c.* but laid violent hands on him in his own house, for complaining of these words; and afterward he endeavour'd by many unjust Stratagems to have him turn'd out of his Place. What happy days and glorious times were these, when High-Church cou'd ruin a Man for but preaching against such Innovations, for the sake of which Dr. *Cosins* was prefer'd to a good Deanery

by

by *Laud!* And what are we now to expect, if the *Laudean* Faction rides triumphant?

Nay, High-Church Priests were then grown so insolent, that the Reverend Mr. *Peterson* came to the Common Pleas Bar, all the Courts then sitting, and cry'd aloud, *I accuse Mr. Justice* Hutton *of High Treason*; and said, *that he made choice of this publick way, because the other had so publickly deliver'd his Opinion against Shipmony.* And being ask'd what point of High Treason he accus'd him of, he answer'd, "That he deny'd the King's Supremacy, in affirming the King had no lawful power to levy "Shipmony, contrary to the Opinion of all the Orthodox Divines in the Kingdom." Indeed if the Opinions of all the Orthodox Divines that preach'd up the lawfulness of the King's levying Taxes without consent of Parliament had been printed, it would have made as large a Book as *the History of Passive Obedience*; where the Opinions of as Orthodox Divines are mention'd, to prove that our All, our very Lives depend on the Will and Pleasure of one who is intrusted with Power by the Legislature, for no other reason than the defence of our Lives and Liberty.

But to shew there was no Character or Post in Church or State that cou'd exempt one from being treated after the most barbarous manner, who wou'd not come in to the arbitrary Measures of those times, I shall instance in Dr. *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who with so much honour supported the Dignity of Lord Keeper under King *James*, and lost the Seals with as great honour under King *Charles*, for having join'd with other Patriots in opposing the Duke of *Buckingham* in Parliament: nay, he had not only the Seals taken from him, but was not allow'd to do his Homage to the King with the rest of the Spiritual Lords at the Coronation, and to execute his Office as Dean of *Westminster* in assisting at it; and after that was deny'd a Parliamentary Summons: which tho at last, upon a Motion in Parliament, it was obtain'd, yet he had a particular Charge from the Lord Keeper not to appear in Person, and it was with some difficulty that

Hist. of Engl. Vol. 3. p. 14.

Ib. p. 28, 37.

that he got leave to make a Proxy. But what provok'd the Court most, was, that he had the Honesty and Courage, while the Court-Bishops and Clergy were justifying the King's levying Mony without Parliament, to declare against the Loan (which oblig'd People to pay after the rate of four Subsidys and three Fifteens). This occasion'd an Information of other matters to be prefer'd against him in the Starchamber, and other Hardships to be put on him by the Court. But that which effectually did his Business was, that he acted like a Christian and Protestant, and a true Promoter of the King's as well as the Kingdom's real Interest, in preventing the Subjects from being ruin'd by the Ecclesiastical Courts for matters of Opinion, and their Affections alienated from the Prince: and therefore he advis'd Dr. *Lamb* Dean of the Arches, Dr. *Sibthorp*, and some Proctors, who were at Dinner with him at *Bugden*, 'to take off their heavy hands from the Puritans; informing them, that his Majesty intended hereafter to use them with more mildness, as a considerable Party that had influence on the Parliament, without whose Assistance the King could not comfortably supply his Necessitys: adding, that the King had communicated to him, by his own mouth, his Resolution of dealing more gently with men of that Opinion.' *Fuller's* Church-History, *p.* 155.

Some years after this Advice, an Information was given in the Starchamber by *Lamb* and *Sibthorp*, that the Bishop did give great Discouragement to their Proceedings against the Puritans, and that he ask'd *Lamb* whether the Puritans did not pay Loan-Mony; to which he answer'd, they did conform in that part, but that nevertheless they were Puritans, not conformable to the Church. To which the Bp reply'd, *If they pay their Mony so readily to the King, the Puritans are the King's best Subjects, and I am sure they will carry all at last.* But as to this Information, either the matter was thought too frivolous, or even such a poor Story wanted sufficient Evidence to support it; and therefore the Attorny General let fall this Bill, and prefer'd another against the Bishop for tampering with the King's Witnesses in this very Cause, which himself had dropt. All the vilest methods were us'd to frighten the Bishop's Hist. *Engl. Vol.* 3. *p.* 84.

the Bishop's Witnesses, and some of them not
Rushw. p. 58. permitted, after a long and close Impri-
sonment, to have their liberty, till they
own'd, under their hands, Crimes both against themselves
and the Bishop; which afterwards they deny'd on their
Oaths: while no Exceptions were allow'd against the
King's Witnesses, but their Credit was to be esteem'd sa-
cred in all they aver'd or depos'd for the King. But I re-
fer the Reader to *Hacket*'s Life of *Williams*, to see what
villanous Instruments, Perjurys, Subornations, expunging
and razing of Records were made use of by his grand Ad-
versary *Laud* to ruin his Benefactor, whose greatest
Crime was, that he had been so instrumental in preferring
so vile and ungrateful a Man.

Indeed the whole management did appear so very gross
to the Parliament, that they not only order'd all the Re-
cords relating to that Suit to be oblite-
rated, but it did hasten, as the Histo-
rian observes, if not chiefly cause the
Suppression of the Court of Starchamber. The Judg-
ment was suitable to all the rest of the Proceedings; for
the Bishop was fin'd ten thousand Pounds, suspended *a be-
neficio & officio*, and to be imprison'd during the King's
Pleasure. Besides this, he was condemn'd to pay to Sir
John Mounson a thousand Marks, for saying that the Or-
der he and some other Justices made against *Prigeon*, a Wit-
ness of the Bishop's, was a *Pocket-Order*, and made in an Inn.

This *Prigeon* was accus'd, in order to invalidate his
Testimony, of having a Bastard, which
Rushw. abridg. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 317, &c. was banded at *Lincoln* Assizes between
him and another; one Sessions fathering
it on him, the next clearing him from it,
the third returning it upon him again; which Order was
again dissolv'd by the King's Bench, and *Prigeon* clear'd
from the Child. And because the Bishop's Servants con-
cern'd themselves in behalf of *Prigeon*, therefore their
Master was not only condemn'd, as above-mention'd, for
tampering with Witnesses, but three of them were like-
wise fin'd, and one in no less than a thousand Marks: and
Laud made a Speech of almost an hour long in the Star-
chamber, to aggravate the Crime, and yet at the same
time pretended he had been five times on his Knees to the
King in the Bishop's behalf.

The

The Bishop during his close Imprisonment and the Parliament which was about Fuller, b. 11. 157.
four years, was examin'd upon a Book of Articles of 34 Sheets, written on both sides, in order to deprive him of his Bishoprick. One Article was, That all Books licens'd by his Grace's Chaplains, as *Chiune* and *Sale*, Popish Books, with *Manwaring*'s Sermons, were presum'd by all true Subjects to be Orthodox, and agreeable to sound Religion. This the Bishop utterly deny'd, and wonder'd at their Impudence to propound such an Article to him.

Another Article related to the licensing of Books, which he said "belong'd only to Bishops, and to all Bishops alike, "and not to their Servants: however, his Grace had shuf-"fled in his Chaplains in the last printed Starchamber De-"cree." But more frivolous were the ensuing Articles:

That he had call'd a Book intitled, *A Coal from the Al-tar*, a Pamphlet.

That he said, that all Flesh in *England* had corrupted their ways.

That he said scoffingly, he had heard of a Mother-Church, but not of a Mother-Chappel, meaning the King's, to which all Churches in Ceremony were to conform.

That he had wickedly jested on St. *Martin*'s Hood.

That he said, the People are not to be lash'd by every Man's Whip.

That he said, citing a National Council for it, that the People are God's and the King's, and not the Priests People.

That he does not allow Priests to jeer, and make Invectives against the People.

It shews what a Temper his Adversarys were of, when they thought these Articles of such a criminal nature, as that a Bishop might be depriv'd for them: and it likewise shows what a regard they had to the Character of a Bishop, when of five Persons who were to sit Judges of his Doctrine, with a power to deprive him of his Bishoprick, three of them were Lay-Doctors: And tho the Bishop objected against his Lay-Judges, yet this was over-rul'd, and he as one of the King's Subjects requir'd to make his Answer.

All

All that had been hitherto done against the Bishop of *Lincoln* did not satisfy the Malice of his Enemys, but they caus'd him to be fin'd again five thousand Pound to the King, and three thousand Pound to Archbishop *Laud*, because forsooth one *Osbaldston*, a Schoolmaster at *Westminster*, writ Letters to him, wherein were these words: *The little Pismire, the Ox-chin, and Hocus Pocus, is this stormy Christmas at variance with the Leviathan?* And the Witnesses against the Bishop were his two Servants, who were before confin'd in the Court of Starchamber for tampering with Witnesses; whereof one was his Secretary, who "the Bishop said had a Commission to "open his Letters in his Absence, and if "any such Letters were found in his House, they were "laid up and conceal'd by his Secretary; and tho he "had receiv'd such Letters, no Law directed the Subject "to bring to a Justice of the Peace Enigmas or Riddles, "but plain, literal and grammatical Libels against a "known and clearly decypher'd Person: and that *Osbaldston* deny'd that he design'd Archbishop *Laud* and "the Treasurer *Weston* by those words, but depos'd on "Oath he meant other Persons, whom 'twas prov'd he "us'd to call by those Names." But this did no more excuse the Bishop than the Schoolmaster, who was fin'd 5000 *l.* to the King, and to pay 5000 *l.* to the Archbishop, depriv'd of all spiritual Dignitys and Promotions, and his Ears to be nail'd to the Pillory in the presence of his Scholars. If Men shou'd be serv'd so now for railing, not only in Enigmas and Riddles, but openly and plainly, at an Archbishop, there wou'd scarce be a High-Church Priest in the Kingdom with any Ears on.

Rushw. abridg. *Vol.* 3. *p.* 12, &c. *Fuller*, *p.* 165.

Fuller's Church History, *p.* 165.

But all this did not put an end to the Bishop of *Lincoln's* Troubles; for there was a new Information in ten Articles drawn up against him, tho for the main they were but the Consequence and Deductions of the suppos'd former fault, in tampering with Witnesses, for which he had been so severely censur'd before. But the Broils with *Scotland*, and other things intervening, put a stop to this Prosecution; and not long after this *Tamperer with Witnesses* was made Archbishop of *York*. But

But the highest Post in the Church, the Metropolitical See of all *England*, in a Reign suppos'd so tender of the Rights of the Clergy, cou'd not secure the good and wise Archbishop *Abbot* from being treated very inhumanly, only for refusing to license a Sermon of Dr. *Sibthorp's*, which directly subverted the whole Constitution, and destroy'd all Property, in maintaining that the King had a Divine Right to impose Taxes without consent of Parliament, and that the Subject, on pain of Damnation, was oblig'd to pay them; and this he term'd Apostolical Obedience. Nothing cou'd satisfy good King *Charles*, but that the Archbishop must license this Sermon; which when he refus'd to do, the King sent him menace on menace, in order to fright him to a compliance; and *Laud* then Bishop of St. *Davids*, was order'd by the King to answer the Reasons, which the Archbishop, who was then sick at *Lambeth*, sent to the King to excuse himself for not licensing *Sibthorp's* Sermon: and for this Service he was made a Privy Counsellor. But the King being sensible how little his Champion was able to cope with the Archbishop, wou'd not suffer him to have a Copy of *Laud's* Answer, or even to read it himself; and when he found the Archbishop was immovable, he not only forbad him meddling with the High Commission, but banish'd and confin'd him to an old House of his near *Canterbury*. But seeing this Disgrace and Confinement did not break the heart of the good old Man, miserably afflicted with Gout and Stone, nor make him act against his Conscience, there was a Commission granted to *Laud* and some other Bishops to try him for an Irregularity, for which he had been acquitted seven years before by Bishop *Andrews*, Sir *Edward Coke* and others, whom King *James* had impower'd to try him for this very thing. But 'tis not strange he shou'd be now found guilty and suspended, when his Judges were to be intrusted with his Archiepiscopal Power. *Fuller's* Church History.

The good ABp had the Satisfaction to see these Doctrines he refus'd to license disapprov'd by the King himself, in the Proclamation he set forth for calling in *Manwaring's* Sermons: But the World, which saw how soon after he had Preferments heap'd on him, cou'd no more believe the King was in earnest, than *Manwaring* himself was when he

Hist. of *Engl.* *Vol.* 3. *p.* 52, 53.

he made his Recantation, especially when they saw this practis'd with relation to others, and that *Montague*, soon after a Proclamation to censure him for his Book, had Letters Patents for a Bishoprick.

Tho these were the deep Policys of the Court at that time, yet the Archbishop had the Satisfaction to see the Parliament very much in earnest in approving what he did, by censuring both *Sibthorp*'s and *Manwaring*'s Sermons; And the Articles on which the latter was impeach'd by the Commons, and condemn'd by the Lords, were,

Ibid. *p.* 51.

1. That he labour'd to infuse into the Conscience of the King, that his Power was not limited by Law; which King *James* in his Speech to the Parliament call'd Tyranny, yea Tyranny accompany'd with Perjury.

2. That he endeavour'd to perswade the Consciences of the Subjects, that they are bound to obey illegal Commands; yea he damns them for not obeying them.

3. He robs the Subjects of the Propriety of their Goods.

4. He endeavours to set a Division between the Head and Members, and between the Members themselves.

5. That like *Faux* and his Followers he seeks to blow up Parliaments and Parliamentary Powers.

Are not all the Preachers of absolute Power in the Prince, and of unlimited Obedience in the Subjects, guilty of these damnable Crimes? What can more effectually blow up Parliaments, and all Parliamentary Powers, than making the Lives and Fortunes of all the good People of *England* depend on the Will and Pleasure of a single Person? Such a precarious Tenure makes us all *Turkey* Slaves, and not freeborn *Englishmen*: and consequently the preaching up that Doctrine is the greatest Treason that can be against the Constitution.

If the Clergy themselves, even the greatest of them, Bishops and Archbishops, were so barbarously dealt with, that would not come in to the arbitrary measures of High Church, we can't think the Laity had better Usage, and therefore I shall only give an instance or two of their Treatment. *Lilburn* and *Wharton* were put into the Starchamber Court, for printing seditious Books contrary

to the Decree of that Court: but refusing to take the Oath *ex Officio*, and insisting that no man was oblig'd to accuse himself, and that imposing this Oath was contrary to the Rights of freeborn *Englishmen*, were for their refusal set in the Pillory, and fin'd 500 *l.* each, and *Lilbourn* whip'd from the Fleet to the Pillory; where for the liberty of Speech that he took, and for dispersing of some Pamphlets said, tho never prov'd, to be seditious, he was by order of the Court of Starchamber gag'd during the residue of the time he was to stand in the Pillory, and afterward order'd to be laid alone in the Wards of the Prison, where none but the meanest sort are put, with double Irons on his Hands and Legs, and none permitted to resort unto him, and all Letters, Writings and Books brought to him to be seiz'd, and deliver'd to the Court. *Rushw. abridg. Vol. 2. p. 345.*

When his Judges were impeach'd in Parliament for this Sentence, the Cruelty of his being whipt from the *Fleet* to *Westminster*, where he had at least 1500 Stripes, was much insisted on. 'Twas urg'd, 'That even in 'France the Judges wou'd allow no more than 13 Blows 'to a Priest, who had persuaded a poor Maid that St. 'Francis had a mind such a night to lie with her, and so 'feigning of himself St. *Francis*, was taken in Bed with 'her: and that for the Pillory, it was not design'd for 'Gentlemen as Mr. *Lilbourn* was, but was first invented 'for Mountebanks and Cheats, to exalt them in the same 'kind as they had exalted themselves upon Benches and 'Forms to abuse the People.' And whether this reason does not extend to Mountebanks in Divinity, when being exalted in their wooden Boxes they abuse the People with seditious Discourses, I leave the Reader to judg.

The next Instance I shall produce, to shew that no Station cou'd exempt a Man, in those blessed times, from being prosecuted contrary to all Law and Justice, shall be of Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and several other Members of the House of Commons, who were proceeded against in the Starchamber for liberty of Speech, so essential to all Parliamentary Debates: but after they had lain in Prison about half a year, the Proceess against them in that Court was let fall, and they were prosecuted in the King's Bench, where the Defen-

tants put in a Plea to the Jurisdiction of the Court; which being over-rul'd, Judgment past against each of them on a *Nihil dicit*; and Sir *John Elliot* was fin'd 2000*l.* *Hollis* 1000 Marks, *&c.* and every one of 'em to be imprison'd during the King's Pleasure, and not to be deliver'd out of Prison without giving Security for their good Behaviour, and owning their Offence: which rather than do, like good Patriots, they were content to suffer a long Imprisonment (where several of them died) before they wou'd betray the Rights of Parliament.

Hist. *Engl.* *Vol.* 3. *p.* 49.

This Liberty of Speech was look'd on as a greater Crime in *Elliot* than others, because he had before been enjoin'd Silence in the House by a Command from the King, deliver'd him by the Speaker; and had been before imprison'd for presuming to concern himself, tho by order of the House, in the Impeachment of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and for which he obtain'd a Vote of the House that he had not exceeded his Commission: and he was after that committed Prisoner to the *Gatehouse*, for not complying with the demand of the Loan, and his Petition for his Discharge was rejected.

Ibid. *p.* 43.

Ibid. *p.* 23, 24.

Ibid. *p.* 37.

What provok'd High-Church chiefly against *Elliot*, was reflecting on that part of the King's Declaration prefix'd to the 31st Article, where 'tis affirm'd, *If there be any difference in Opinion concerning the Interpretation of the Articles, the Convocation has power to settle those Disputes.* This he said was giving them a power by which Popery might be introduc'd: and the Commons were so sensible of the fatal Consequences that might attend Religion if the Convocation was trusted with such a power, that they entred a Protestation against it.

Ibid. *p.* 47, & 54.

Thus it was that all sorts of People were oppres'd and ruin'd, without any more regard to their Stations or Characters, than to Law or Justice; and the Judges were so miserably overaw'd, that if a man did not stand right in the Opinion of *Laud* and his Minions, he was to expect no Right in *Westminster-Hall*: and it was rarely, very rarely, that they durst send any Prohibitions to the Ecclesiastical

ſiaſtical Courts, how much ſoever they exceeded their Bounds, even tho the Eccleſiaſtical High-Commiſſion Court took to themſelves a power of fining and impriſoning. And the Court of Common Pleas ſending a Rule, in Sir *Giles Allington*'s Caſe, to the High Commiſſion, to ſhew cauſe why a Prohibition ſhou'd not be granted, was, ſays my Author, 'ſo bold a Stroke 'in thoſe days, when the Clergy had 'got the whole Power of the Kingdom 'in their hands, that the King himſelf 'interpos'd, and by the Lord Keeper reprimanded the 'Judges; and *Laud*, then Biſhop of *London*, threaten'd to 'excommunicate them in his own Dioceſs, and to declare 'it at *Paul*'s *Croſs*, in caſe the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* 'did not do it in his Province.' Which ſo overaw'd the Judges, that they left Sir *Giles* to the mercy of the High Commiſſion Court, where eight Biſhops and four Civilians fin'd him 12000*l.* to the King. *Ruſhw.* abridg. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 87.

My Lord *Clarendon* ſays, 'It can't be 'deny'd, that by the great Power of 'ſome Biſhops at Court, the High-Commiſſion Court 'had much overflow'd its Banks, not only in meddling 'with things not within their Cognizance, but extending 'their Judgments in matters triable before them beyond 'that degree that was juſtifiable; and grew to have ſo 'great a Contempt of the Common Law, and the Profeſſors of it, that Prohibitions from the Supreme Courts 'of Law, which have and muſt have the Superintendency 'over all inferior Courts, were not only neglected, but 'the Judges reprehended for granting them, which without Perjury they cou'd not deny; and the Lawyers diſcountenanc'd for moving them, which they were oblig'd 'in Duty to do; ſo that thereby the Clergy made almoſt the whole Profeſſion, if not their Enemys, yet very undevoted to them. Then it grew from an Eccleſiaſtical Court to a Court of Revenue, and impos'd 'great Fines; which courſe of fining was much more frequent, and the Fines heavier after the King had 'granted all that Revenue, whatſoever it ſhou'd prove, to 'be imploy'd for the reparation of *Paul*'s Church.' And in another place he ſays, 'That the peeviſh 'Spirits of ſome Clergymen, had taken 'great pains to alienate the Profeſſion *Vol.* 1. *p.* 221, 222. *V.* 1. *B.* 4. *p.* 241, 242.

'of the Common Law from them; and that others be-
'liev'd the ſtraitning the Profeſſion of that Law muſt
'neceſſarily inlarge the Juriſdiction of the Church.
'Hence, *ſays he*, aroſe their bold and unwarrantable op-
'poſing Prohibitions, and other Proceedings of Law in
'behalf of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.' *And then adds*, 'I
'never yet ſpoke with one Clergyman, who hath had the
'experience of both Litigations, that hath not ingenuouſ-
'ly confeſs'd, he had rather, in reſpect of his Trouble,
'Charge, and Satisfaction to his Underſtanding, have
'three Suits depending in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, than one in
'the Arches, or any Eccleſiaſtical Court.' 'Tis viſible from this great Man's Opinion, how natural a tendency the Principles of High-Church have to lead the Clergy into a Contempt of the Common Law, and the Profeſſors of it; and in conſequence to trample upon all the Rights of the People, which are only ſecur'd by a juſt Adminiſtration of that Law.

Had not High-Church been continually preaching up, that Kings are ſuperior to all human Laws, as having by Divine Right an abſolute Power over the Propertys of their Subjects, I am verily perſuaded King *Charles*'s Reign had not been ſtain'd with ſo many Acts of Oppreſſion, which were more and greater than the People felt in any, I might almoſt venture to ſay in all the Reigns ſince the Conqueſt till that time. In one year the King demands 100000 *l.* of the City of *London* by way of Loan; and not only forces them to pay it, but to fit out twenty Men of War at their own Expence. Beſides other Taxes impos'd by his own Authority, my Lord *Clarendon* ſays, 'Supplemental Acts of State 'were made to ſupply defect of Laws; ſo Tunnage and 'Poundage, and other Dutys upon Merchandizes, were 'collected by Order of the Board, which had been poſi-'tively refus'd to be ſettled by Act of Parliament, and 'now greater Impoſition laid on Trade. Obſolete Laws 'were reviv'd and rigorouſly executed, *viz.* Foreſt-Laws 'and Knighthood [which laſt oblig'd all Perſons that had for the three laſt years 40 *l. per annum* in their hands, or for their uſe, to receive the Order of Knighthood] And he adds, 'That no 'leſs unjuſt Project's of all kinds, many 'ridiculous,

Ruſh. Hiſt. Coll. abridg. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 267, 268.

Clarendon's Hiſt. & *L. p.* 54, 55.

'ridiculous, many ſcandalous, all very grievous, were ſet
'on foot; and that the Council-Chamber and Starcham-
'ber held for Honourable that which pleas'd, and for Juſt
'that which profited; and, being the ſame Perſons in ſeve-
'ral Rooms, grew both Courts of Law to determine
'Right, and Courts of Revenue to bring Mony into the
'Treaſury: the Council-Table by Proclamation enjoining
'to the People what was not enjoin'd by the Law, and
'prohibiting what was not prohibited; and the Star-
'chamber cenſuring the breach of thoſe Proclamations by
'very large Fines and Impriſonment:
'And that there were very few Perſons Ibid. p. 223.
'of Quality who had not ſuffer'd or
'been perplex'd by the weight and fear of thoſe Judg-
'ments and Cenſures; and that no man cou'd hope to be
'longer free from the Inquiſition of that Court, than he
'reſolv'd to ſubmit to extraordinary Courſes.'

A Tyranny made familiar by long uſe, is much eaſier to be born than a new one: and therefore the *Engliſh*, the freeſt People in the World, muſt be in a terrible Conſternation and Confuſion, when they found themſelves all of a ſudden overwhelm'd with a vaſt Inundation of Oppreſſions of all kinds; and that the Law, inſtead of redreſſing theſe Grievances, was perverted by mercenary Judges, to entail Slavery on themſelves and their Poſterity: And that the Parliament, which was their laſt Refuge, when it met, which was very ſeldom, was conſtantly inſulted, and the Members upon its unſeaſonable Diſſolution were fin'd and impriſon'd during the King's Pleaſure: And that Martial Law was practis'd in time of Peace, and Projects on foot for bringing in foreign Force, and the Church in a worſe Condition than the State, by the Clergy's carrying their Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny higher than ever it was in theſe Kingdoms in the times of Popery (to which they were daily making Advances) by theſe two Courts of Inquiſition, the High-Commiſſion and the Starchamber, which inflicted ſuch terrible Puniſhments, as that Death it ſelf, compar'd with them, ought to be eſteem'd a favour. And a Man muſt be ſtrangely in love with Life, who wou'd not prefer dying before the Sufferings which High-Church inflicted on the Reverend Dr. *Oates*, or even Mr. *Johnſon*, tho they eſcap'd ſeveral of the Cruelties that the Starchamber us'd to inflict on Clergymen;

ſuch as nailing of Ears to the Pillory, cutting 'em off, ſlitting of Noſes, branding 'em in the face with hot Irons. And I can't but think Mr. *Vurchin* was very much in the right, who rather than endure the Whippings, to which *Jefferies*, in the bloody Aſſizes of the *Weſt*, condemn'd him, upon no other pretence than not owning his right Name, petition'd K. *James* in the following manner: 'That 'he humbly conceives that the Sentence 'paſt on him by *Jefferies* is worſe than 'Death; and therefore humbly prays your Majeſty will be 'mercifully pleas'd to grant him the favour of being 'hang'd with thoſe of his Fellow-Priſoners that are con-'demn'd to die; and till then your Petitioner, *&c.*

Weſtern Martyrology, *p.* 226.

But it not being the Buſineſs of this Paper to conſider the Cruelty's of thoſe Reigns, where the King's Bench ſupply'd the want of the Starchamber, by impoſing immoderate Fines, and inflicting exceſſive corporal Puniſhments; I ſhall reſume the Thread of my Diſcourſe, relating to the Cruelty's of the High-Commiſſion and the Starchamber, where if there happen'd to be any difference as to the degree of Puniſhment, the Eccleſiaſticks uſually voted with thoſe who were for the ſevereſt. Nay, I ſhall give an Inſtance where *Laud* had not Authority enough to get one Man to join with him in the puniſhing of a Man, and that was in the caſe of *Gillibrand* an Almanack-maker, who was by his Order put into the High Commiſſion Court, for leaving out of his Calendar the names of the Popiſh Saints, and putting in thoſe of the Proteſtant Martyrs. And tho at the hearing of the Cauſe it appear'd it was the ſame with *Fox*'s authoris'd Calendar, and that Almanacks of that kind had been formerly printed; for which reaſon *Gillibrand* was acquitted by Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and all the reſt of the Court; yet *Laud* wou'd by no means conſent, and cry'd, *The Queen her ſelf had complain'd to him of this Almanack, which gave great Offence to thoſe of her Religion, and therefore he hop'd it ſhou'd not paſs unpuniſh'd in that Court.* And when he ſaw he cou'd not prevail, he told the Almanack-maker with a great deal of Fury, *You have made a Faction in this Court, for which you ought to be puniſh'd*; and then threaten'd him with a ſecond Proſecution, which put the poor Man into a Feaver, of which he died. This was more ſcandalous

Laud's Trial, by *Prynn*, *p.* 183, 184, 503, 506.

dalous than preferring Dr. *Pocklington*, who had ſo ſcandalouſly libel'd the Proteſtant Martyrs; for which, as has been already obſerv'd, he was cenſur'd in Parliament.

Laud, whether it was to promote his Intereſt at Court, or for any other Motive, appear'd ſo great a Favourer of Popery and Popiſh Books, that even while he was Biſhop of *London* he was petition'd againſt by the Printers and Bookſellers, for reſtraining Books written againſt Popery; and they complain'd that divers of 'em were in the hands of Purſivants for printing againſt Popery; and that the Books againſt it were not allow'd by him or his Chaplains, who had then the ſole licenſing of Books. Ruſhw. *in fol. vol.* 1. *p.* 655.

In a word, *Laud*'s chief Deſign was to advance the Eccleſiaſtical Power above the Law of the Land (one of the Articles on which he was impeach'd) And therefore while he was aiming at a Papal Power himſelf, affecting to be call'd *His Holineſs*, and *Moſt Holy Father*, and *Summus Pontifex*, Titles which Cuſtom has appropriated to the Pope; and ſeveral as flattering Titles, as *Archangelus, & ne quid nimis Spiritu Sancto effuſiſſime plenus*: 'tis no wonder he were no Friend to the Pope's Supremacy or Infallibility. Heylin's *Life of* Laud *p.* 297. *Hiſt. of his Troubles*, p. 284, 325. But for the other Popiſh Doctrines which ſerv'd to ſet up an *Engliſh* Popery, we need go no farther than his Life written by his own Chaplain *Heylin*, to ſee how ready he was to favour all who promoted 'em, and how ſeverely he treated all that oppos'd 'em; the Books of the rankeſt Papiſts being either licens'd by his Chaplains, or approv'd by himſelf; and not only new Books againſt Popery were hinder'd from being publiſh'd, or call'd in, and Paſſages againſt Popery deleted in others (of which you have a large account in *Prynn*'s Hiſtory of his Trial) but the beſt Proteſtant ones, as were formerly licens'd by Authority, were not permitted to be reprinted: ſuch as *Fox*'s *Acts and Monuments* (of which every Church is oblig'd to have one) Dr. *Willet*, and the famous Biſhop *Jewel*'s Works; nay, even the *Practice of Piety*, which had been printed ſix and thirty times, cou'd not now obtain a new Licence. And had not his Creature Biſhop *Wren* the ſame Deſign, when he put this into the Articles of his Viſitation, *That the Churchwarden in every Pariſh of his Dioceſs ſhou'd inquire whether*

ther any Persons presum'd to talk of Religion at their Tables, and in their Familys? Since such a gross Ignorance as this must cause, wou'd as much help to bring in Popery, as the Restraint of Protestant Books.

The best Argument *Heylin* has to prove *Laud* was no Papist, was his marrying the Earl of *Devonshire* to my Lord *Rich*'s Wife, while he was alive, and not divorc'd *a vinculo matrimonii*; which he says *may serve for a sufficient Argument that he was no Papist, nor cordially affected to that Religion.* But whether he was so or no, I refer the Reader to what this Chaplain of his says concerning the Project of the Union with the Papists; which he does not deny his Grace was concern'd in.

Heylin's Life of *Laud*, p. 53.

Ib. p. 238.

But because he is magnify'd by High-Church for his great Service to King and Church, I shall shew from my Lord *Clarendon*, that he was the chief Cause of the Ruin of both. For he owns, 'That 'when he was made Archbishop (which was 'in 1633.) it was a time of great Ease and 'Tranquillity: The King had made himself superior to 'all those Difficultys he had to contend with, and was 'now reverenc'd by all his Neighbours; the general Tem-'per and Humour of the Kingdom little inclin'd to the 'Papist, and less to the Puritan——The Church was not 'repin'd at, nor the least Inclination shewn to alter the Go-'vernment or Discipline thereof, or to change the Doctrine; 'nor was there at that time any considerable number of 'Persons of any valuable Condition throout the Kingdom 'who did wish either: and the Cause of so prodigious a 'Change in so few years after, was too visible from the 'Effects; the Archbishop's Heart was set upon the Ad-'vancement of the Church, *&c.*' Then he goes on to declare what methods he took to bring about so prodigious a Change, and says, 'He pro-'vok'd Men of all Qualitys and Conditions, 'who agreed in nothing else but their Aversion to him.' And how cou'd it be otherwise, since he concern'd himself in every thing; and, as *Clarendon* observes, 'never abated any thing of his Severity and 'Rigour towards Men of all Conditions, or 'in the Sharpness of his Language and Expressions? which

Clarend. Hist. *vol.* I. *p.* 61, 71.

Ibid. 79.

Ibid. *p.* 77.

'was

'was so natural to him, that he cou'd not debate any thing 'without some Commotion, nor bear Contradiction, even 'in the Council, where all Men are equally free, with 'that Patience and Temper that was necessary, of which 'they who wish'd him not well took many advantages; 'particularly my Lord *Cottington*, who knew too well 'how to lead him into a Mistake, and then drive him 'into Choler, and then expose him upon the matter and 'the manner, to the Judgment of the Company. He entertain'd, says this Noble Lord, too much prejudice to some Persons, 'as if they were Enemys to the Discipline of the Church, 'because they concur'd with *Calvin* in some Doctrinal 'Points (*as the Body of the Clergy then did*) when they 'abhor'd his Discipline, and reverenc'd the Government 'of the Church, and pray'd for its Peace with as much 'Zeal and Fervency as any in the Kingdom; as they made 'manifest in their Lives, and in their Sufferings with it 'and for it.' And another Historian, who is not backward on all occasions to commend *Laud*, owns, 'That the Proceedings 'in the Spiritual Courts, not only a-'gainst open Separatists and profess'd Puritans, but even 'against many true Members of the Church that did not 'come up to new Measures; were so strict and severe, 'that it gave occasion to strike at the Jurisdiction of 'those Courts.' And when so many of the true Members of the Church were us'd so severely, the Dissenters cou'd not expect better Treatment: who were not permitted to seek their Repose abroad, nor suffer'd to enjoy any Quiet at home; but were treated with the utmost Rigour that Malice arm'd with Arbitrary Power cou'd contrive.

Ibid. *p.* 70.

Hist. of *Engl.* *vol.* 3. *p.* 85.

As no Expressions cou'd more fully shew the imperious insolent Temper of this proud Prelate, than not to be able to bear a Jest from the King's Fool, whose business it was to make Jests on his Master, as well as the rest of the Court; and therefore *Laud* obtain'd an Order from the Council, the King being present, to get the Fool's Coat pull'd over his ears, to be discharg'd the King's Service, and to be banish'd the Court (and 'tis well he escap'd being fin'd in the Star-Chamber) for asking him upon the News of the Disturbance in *Scotland* about the Liturgy,

Wellwood's Memoirs, *p.* 58.

Whe'as

Whe'as the Fewl now? So nothing cou'd ſhew more the Weakneſs of his Mind, than that Dreams, as 'tis plain from his Diary, were capable of making ſuch an impreſſion on him.

Had not that Houſe of Commons which ſat three years before his Trial, plainly ſeen that nothing cou'd prevent the utmoſt Confuſion, while *Laud* was at the head of Affairs; they wou'd not the very firſt month of their ſitting, when there was not the leaſt miſunderſtanding between the King and them, declar'd him *nemine contradicente* a Traitor. Ibid.

And none who is the leaſt acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, but muſt be convinc'd that if *Laud* had not prevail'd on the King to impoſe on the *Scots*, by his own Authority, Canons and Liturgys of his framing; the King wou'd never, by reaſon of the Circumſtances of the Times, have thought himſelf oblig'd to paſs an Act for the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*: In which Act 'tis declar'd, *That the Government of the Church by Biſhops was againſt the Word of God, and the Propagation of Religion.* Nor wou'd he, in purſuance of that Act, have given away the Biſhops Lands to thoſe who were the greateſt Enemys to Epiſcopacy; nor in all likelihood, afterward have conſented to, and ſign'd a Contract with the *Scots*, in which he oblig'd himſelf to confirm by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms the ſolemn League and Covenant, and by Act of Parliament in *England* Preſbyterian Government, the Directory for Worſhip, and Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* for three years: And that upon a Conſultation with the Aſſembly of Divines, to which twenty ſhou'd be added by the King, with ſome from the Church of *Scotland*, it ſhou'd be determin'd by the King and Parliament what Form of Church-Government ſhou'd be eſtabliſh'd after the expiration of thoſe Years. Which was in effect as compleat an Eſtabliſhment of Presbytery as cou'd be; becauſe no legal Eſtabliſhment can be conceiv'd in ſuch abſolute and unalterable Terms, but muſt be ſubject to be chang'd after the ſame manner as this Eſtabliſhment was: to which no end cou'd be put, but by the Conſent of every part of the Legiſlature to an Alteration. And yet ſome Prieſts have the aſſurance to

Clarend. *V.* 1. *p.* 244, 245.

Ibid. *vol.* 3. *p.* 78, 79.

maintain,

maintain, that this Gracious King died a Martyr to Episcopacy: tho in truth he granted these Terms to the *Scots*, to encourage them to invade *England*, and to create a new Civil War, while he refus'd 'em to the *English*; when by Concessions far less dishonourable than he granted to the *Scots*, he might have secur'd himself, and the Peace of the Kingdom.

I thought my self oblig'd to mention these few, among the many Instances that might be produc'd of the insupportable Insolence and Cruelty of a Prelate, who scarce appears to have one good Quality to atone for all the ill ones he was in so high a degree possess'd of; who took all the methods imaginable to alienate the almost unconquerable Affections of the People from the King and Church; and acted after such a manner, as if he despair'd of bringing about his wicked Designs, till he had put all things in confusion. This must appear evident to any one, who takes Mens Characters from their Actions, and not from the Panegyricks which flattering Historians give of them. These things, I say, I thought my self bound to observe concerning him, not on his own account, since he has long ago suffer'd what he deserv'd; but for the sake of High-Church, who esteem him the very Pattern in the Mount, and condemn the best Churchmen as *Perfidious Grindal*'s, loading 'em with all manner of Obloquy, that will not tread in his steps: which plainly shews what they wou'd be at, if ever the Nation be so infatuated as to trust 'em with Power.

My Lord *Clarendon*, in exposing the Weakness of the *Scots*, says, *The infectious Breath of their Senseless and Wretched Clergy corrupted and govern'd the People.* And will it not be as great a Reflection on the *English*, to be corrupted by as Senseless and Wretched a Clergy as ever those of *Scotland* can be suppos'd to be? Those I mean, who propose *Laud* and his Party as the Standard and Model by which they wou'd govern themselves; and wou'd have all that won't come into their measures be treated as Enemys to the Church. For which reason, it will not be improper to repeat the Character my Lord *Falkland* gives of these Standards and Patterns of High-Church; and I chuse him, because his Zeal for the Church is as well known as his Ability

Vol. 3. *p.* 83.

Ability to defend it; and because he died a Martyr in fighting for the Royal Cause, when his Post of Secretary of State to *Charles* I. exempted him from any military Engagement: And because my Lord *Clarendon*, who spends above three Pages in one place in his Commendation, gives him the highest Character that can be bestow'd on a Mortal; Among other things he says, 'He was so severe an Adorer of 'Truth, that he cou'd as easily give 'himself leave to steal as to dissemble: That he was a 'Person of such prodigious Parts, Learning and Know- 'ledg, of that inimitable Sweetness and Delight in Con- 'versation, and of so flowing and ob- 'liging Humanity and Goodness, and of 'that Primitive Simplicity and Integrity 'of Life, that if there were no other brand on that 'odious and accurs'd Civil War than that single Loss, it 'must be most infamous and execrable to all Posterity.' And therefore what so impartial, so candid, and so able a Judg says of things, which happen'd within his own Knowledg, can't fail of gaining Credit even with the most Prejudic'd.

Vol. 1. *p.* 268.

Vol. 2. *p.* 76.

Vid. Rushw. Fol. Vol. IV. p. 184.

The Lord Falkland's *Speech concerning Episcopacy.*

'Mr. *Speaker*,

'HE is a great Stranger in *Israel* who knows not that 'this Kingdom hath long labour'd under many and 'great Oppressions, both in Religion and Liberty; and 'his Acquaintance here is not great, or his Ingenuity less, 'who doth not both know and acknowledg that a great, 'if not a principal, cause of both these have been some 'Bishops and their Adherents.

'Mr. *Speaker*, A little search will serve to find them 'to have been the Destruction of Unity, under pretence 'of Uniformity; to have brought in Superstition and 'Scandal, under the Titles of Reverence and Decency; 'to have defil'd our Church, by adorning our Churches; 'to have slackned the strictness of that Union which was 'formerly between us and those of our Religion beyond 'the Sea; an Action as unpolitick as ungodly.

'Mr.

' Mr. *Speaker*, We ſhall find them to have tith'd Mint
' and Aniſe, and have left undone the weightier Works of
' the Law; to have been leſs eager upon thoſe who damn
' our Church, than upon thoſe who, upon weak Con-
' ſcience, and perhaps as weak Reaſons (the diſlike of
' ſome commanded Garment, or ſome uncommanded Poſ-
' ture) only abſtain'd from it. Nay, it hath been more
' dangerous for men to go to ſome Neighbour's Pariſh,
' when they had no Sermon in their own, than to be ob-
' ſtinate and perpetual Recuſants; while Maſſes have
' been ſaid in ſecurity, a Conventicle hath been a Crime,
' and which is yet more, the conforming to Ceremony's
' hath been more exacted than the conforming to Chriſti-
' anity; and whilſt men for ſcruples have been undone,
' for attempts upon Sodomy they have only been admo-
' niſh'd.

' We ſhall find them to have been like the Hen in *Eſop*,
' which laying every day an Egg upon ſuch a proportion
' of Barley, her Miſtreſs increaſing her proportion in
' hope ſhe wou'd increaſe her Eggs, ſhe grew ſo fat upon
' that addition, that ſhe never laid more: So tho at firſt
' their Preaching were the occaſion of their Preferment,
' they after made their Preferment the occaſion of their
' not Preaching.

' We ſhall find them to have reſembled another Fable,
' the Dog in the Manger; to have neither preach'd them-
' ſelves, nor imploy'd thoſe that ſhou'd, nor ſuffer'd thoſe
' that wou'd: to have brought in Catechiſing, only to
' thruſt out Preaching, cry'd down Lectures by the name
' of Factions, either becauſe their Induſtry in that Du-
' ty appear'd a reproof to their neglect of it, or with in-
' tention to have brought in Darkneſs, that they might
' the eaſier ſow their Tares, while it was night; and by
' that introduction of Ignorance, introduce the better
' that Religion which accounts it the Mother of Devo-
' tion.

' Mr. *Speaker*, In this they have abus'd his Majeſty, as
' well as his People: for when they had with great Wiſ-
' dom (ſince uſually the Children of Darkneſs are wiſer in
' their generation than the Children of Light) ſilenc'd on
' both Parts thoſe Opinions which have often tormented the
' Church, and have, and will always trouble the Schools,
' they made uſe of this Declaration to tie up one ſide, and

' let

'let the other looſe; whereas they ought either in diſcre-
'tion to be equally reſtrain'd, or in juſtice to have been
'equally tolerated. And it is obſervable, that that Party
'to which they gave this Licence, was that whoſe Doc-
'trine, tho they were not contrary to Law, was contra-
'ry to Cuſtom, and for a long while in this Kingdom was
'no oftner preach'd than recanted.

'The Truth is, Mr. *Speaker*, that as ſome ill Mini-
'ſters in our State firſt took away our Mony from us, and
'after endeavour'd to make our Mony not worth the tak-
'ing, by turning it into Braſs by a kind of Antiphilo-
'ſopher's Stone; ſo theſe Men us'd us in the point of
'Preaching, firſt depreſſing it to their power, and next
'labouring to make it ſuch, as the harm had not been
'much if it had been depreſs'd: the moſt frequent Sub-
'jects, even in the moſt ſacred Auditorys, being the *Jus*
'*divinum* of Biſhops and Tithes, the Sacredneſs of the
'Clergy, the Sacrilege of Impropriations, the Demo-
'liſhing of Puritaniſm and Propriety, the Building of
'the Prerogative at *Pauls*, the Introduction of ſuch Doc-
'trines, as, admitting them true, the Truth wou'd not
'recompenſe the Scandal; or of ſuch that were ſo far
'falſe, that, as Sir *Thomas Moor* ſays of the Caſuiſts,
'their buſineſs was not to keep Men from ſinning, but to
'inform them, *Quàm propè ad peccatum ſine peccato liceat*
'*accedere*: ſo it ſeem'd their Work was to try how
'much of a Papiſt might be brought in without Popery,
'and to deſtroy as much as they cou'd of the Goſpel,
'without bringing themſelves into danger of being de-
'ſtroy'd by the Law.

'To go yet further, ſome of them have ſo induſtriouſly
'labour'd to deduce themſelves from *Rome*, that they have
'given great ſuſpicion that in gratitude they deſire to re-
'turn thither, or at leaſt to meet it half way. Some have
'evidently labour'd to bring in an *Engliſh*, tho not a *Ro-*
'*man* Popery: I mean not only the outſide and dreſs of
'it, but equally abſolute, a blind dependance of the
'People upon the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon them-
'ſelves; and have oppos'd the Papacy beyond the Sea,
'that they might ſettle one beyond the Water. Nay,
'common Fame is more than ordinarily falſe, if none of
'them have found a way to reconcile the Opinions of
'*Rome* to the Preferments of *England*; and be ſo abſo-
'lutely,

' lutely, directly and cordially Papists, that it is all that
' fifteen hundred pounds a year can do to keep them from
' confessing it.

' Mr. *Speaker*, I come now to speak of our Libertys;
' and considering the great Interest these Men have had
' in our common Master, and how great a Good to us
' they might have made that Interest in him, if they
' wou'd have us'd it to have inform'd him of our general
' Sufferings; and considering how little of their freedom
' of Speech at *Whitehall* might have sav'd us a great deal
' of the use we have now of it in the Parliament-House,
' their not doing this alone were occasion enough for us
' to accuse them as the Betrayers, tho not as the De-
' stroyers of our Rights and Libertys: tho, I confess, if
' they had been only silent in this particular, I had been
' silent too. But, alas, they whose Ancestors in the
' darkest times excommunicated the Breakers of *Magna*
' *Charta*, did now by themselves, and their Adherents,
' both write, preach, plot, and act against it, by in-
' couraging Dr. *Beal*, by preferring Dr. *Manwaring*, ap-
' pearing forward for Monopolys and Ship-Mony; and
' if any were slow and backward to comply, blasting
' both them and their Preferment, with the utmost ex-
' pression of their Hatred, the Title of Puritans.

' Mr. *Speaker*, We shall find some of them to have la-
' bour'd to exclude both all Persons, and all Causes of
' the Clergy, from the ordinary Jurisdiction of the Tem-
' poral Magistrate, and by hindring Prohibitions (first
' by apparent power against the Judges, and after by se-
' cret Agreements with them) to have taken away the
' only legal bound to their arbitrary Power, and made as
' it were a Conquest upon the common Law of the Land,
' which is our common Inheritance; and after made use
' of that Power to turn their Brethren out of their Free-
' holds, for not doing that which no Law of Man re-
' quir'd them to do; and which (in their Opinions) the
' Law of God requir'd them not to do. We shall find
' them in general to have incourag'd all the Clergy to
' Suits, and to have brought all Suits to the Council-Ta-
' ble; that having all power in Ecclesiastical Matters, they
' labour'd for equal power in Temporal, and to dispose as
' well of every Office, as every Benefice: which lost the
' Clergy Revenue, and much Reverence, by in-
' couraging

'couraging them indiſcreetly to exact more of both than 'was due; ſo that indeed the Gain of their Greatneſs ex-'tended but to a few of that Order, tho the Envy ex-'tended upon all.

'We ſhall find them to have both kindled and blown 'the common Fire of both Nations, to have both ſent 'and maintain'd that Book, of which the Author no 'doubt hath long ſince wiſh'd with *Nero*, *Utinam ne-'ſciſſem literas!* and of which more than one Kingdom 'hath cauſe to wiſh, that when he writ that, he had ra-'ther burn'd a Library, tho of the value of *Ptolomy*'s. 'We ſhall find them to have been the firſt and prin-'cipal cauſe of the Breach, I will not ſay of, but ſince 'the Pacification at *Berwick*. We ſhall find them to have 'been the almoſt ſole Abettors of my Lord *Strafford*, 'whilſt he was practiſing upon another Kingdom that 'manner of Government which he intended to ſettle in 'this; where he committed ſo many, ſo mighty, and ſo 'manifeſt Enormitys and Oppreſſions, as the like have 'not been committed by any Governour in any Govern-'ment, ſince *Verres* left *Sicily*: And after they had call'd 'him over from being Deputy of *Ireland*, to be in a 'manner Deputy of *England* (all things here being go-'vern'd by a *Juntillo*, and that *Juntillo* govern'd by him) 'to have aſſiſted him in the giving of ſuch Counſels, and 'the purſuing of ſuch Courſes, as it is a hard and mea-'ſuring caſt, whether they were more unwiſe, more un-'juſt, or more unfortunate, and which had infallibly been 'our Deſtruction, if by the Grace of God, their ſhare 'had not been as ſmall in the Subtlety of Serpents, as in 'the Innocency of Doves.'

As every one that is converſant in Story muſt allow this to be a favourable Deſcription of the then High-Church Clergy; ſo he muſt own, that the High-Church Laity were then for the moſt part not only groſly ignorant in religious Matters, but withal very much addicted to Drunkenneſs, and all manner of Debauchery, and remarkable for their great Contempt of all that's ſacred or ſerious, and abominably guilty of all manner of leud Buffoonery, and of ſwearing, profaning and blaſpheming the holy Name of God; and in a word, were a very fit People for ſuch Prieſts.

'Tis

'Tis no wonder this Deſcription the above-mention'd Lord gives of High-Church in *Charles* I's Reign, is ſo lively a Picture of them at preſent, ſeeing they have ever ſince made it their Buſineſs to copy after that Original; and therefore in the following Reigns, when the Court ſeem'd to have no other aim but Popery and Slavery, they came plumb in to all its meaſures, and went hand in hand with the Court till an Indulgence was allow'd to the Diſſenters. And they have ſufficiently ſhewn the World, that no Government, tho it parts with the *First-Fruits* and *Tenths*, or any other Branch of its Revenue to the Church, is to expect them to be in its Intereſt, if they are not allow'd the Power of perſecuting Proteſtant Diſſenters. Perſecution with them, is like Charity with true Chriſtians; without which, do what elſe you will for them, you are but as *ſounding Braſs and tinkling Cymbals.*

But tho High Church propoſes the Reign of *Charles* I. when *Laud* and his Faction govern'd every thing, as a Precedent for all future Reigns, I ſuppoſe it is with this tacit exception to the Treatment of Clergymen of their ſide, if they chance to be try'd for any Miſdemeanour; except we can ſuppoſe they are willing to have Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Ears cropt, his Noſe ſlit, his Face ſtigmatiz'd, to have an exceſſive Fine put on him, and to be condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, as Clergymen and others then were, who were not guilty of the thouſandth part of the Crimes this Reverend Divine ſtands accus'd of. And ſo far I agree with them, that I wou'd not have any of their Proceedings, which at all times ſavour'd of Violence and Injuſtice, propos'd as a Pattern in a Reign ſo famous for its Gentleneſs and Moderation: Nor wou'd I have the Whigs prevail'd on by any Practice of the Torys, or by any Thoughts of Retaliation or Provocation, or any Pretence whatever, to exceed the due bounds of impartial Juſtice; but only to take ſuch care as may prevent both Church and State from falling under ſuch deplorable Circumſtances, as they were in when High-Church rid triumphant.

FINIS.

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